

## **EXHIBIT 54**

Excerpts of  
How to Be  
an Anti-  
Racist

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EXHIBIT 50  
WIT: Edelblut  
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**HOW TO  
BE AN  
ANTIRACIST**

**IBRAM X.  
KENDI**



ONE WORLD  
NEW YORK



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riage of racist policies and racist ideas that produces and normalizes racial inequities. Okay, so what are racist policies and ideas? We have to define them separately to understand why they are married and why they interact so well together. In fact, let's take one step back and consider the definition of another important phrase: racial inequity.

Racial inequity is when two or more racial groups are not standing on approximately equal footing. Here's an example of racial inequity: 71 percent of White families lived in owner-occupied homes in 2014, compared to 45 percent of Latinx families and 41 percent of Black families. Racial equity is when two or more racial groups are standing on a relatively equal footing. An example of racial equity would be if there were relatively equitable percentages of all three racial groups living in owner-occupied homes in the forties, seventies, or, better, nineties.

A racist policy is any measure that produces or sustains racial inequity between racial groups. An antiracist policy is any measure that produces or sustains racial equity between racial groups. By policy, I mean written and unwritten laws, rules, procedures, processes, regulations, and guidelines that govern people. There is no such thing as a nonracist or race-neutral policy. Every policy in every institution in every community in every nation is producing or sustaining either racial inequity or equity between racial groups.

Racist policies have been described by other terms: "institutional racism," "structural racism," and "systemic racism," for instance. But those are vaguer terms than "racist policy." When I use them I find myself having to immediately explain what they mean. "Racist policy" is more tangible and exacting, and more likely to be immediately understood by people, including its victims, who may not have the benefit of extensive fluency in racial terms. "Racist policy" says exactly what the problem is and where the problem is. "Institutional racism" and "structural racism" and "systemic racism" are redundant. Racism itself is institutional, structural, and systemic.

"Racist policy" also cuts to the core of racism better than "ra-



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cial discrimination," another common phrase. "Racial discrimi-  
nation" is an immediate and visible manifestation of an underlying  
racial policy. When someone discriminates against a person in a  
racial group, they are carrying out a policy or taking advantage of  
the lack of a protective policy. We all have the power to discrim-  
inate. Only an exclusive few have the power to make policy. Fo-  
cusing on "racial discrimination" takes our eyes off the central  
agents of racism: racist policy and racist policymakers, or what I  
call racist power.

Since the 1960s, racist power has commandeered the term  
"racial discrimination," transforming the act of discriminating on  
the basis of race into an inherently racist act. But if racial dis-  
crimination is defined as treating, considering, or making a dis-  
tinction in favor or against an individual based on that person's  
race, then racial discrimination is not inherently racist. The defin-  
ing question is whether the discrimination is creating equity or  
inequity. If discrimination is creating equity, then it is antiracist. If  
discrimination is creating inequity, then it is racist. Someone re-  
producing inequity through permanently assisting an overrepre-  
sented racial group into wealth and power is entirely different  
than someone challenging that inequity by temporarily assisting  
an underrepresented racial group into relative wealth and power  
until equity is reached.

The only remedy to racist discrimination is antiracist discrim-  
ination. The only remedy to past discrimination is present dis-  
crimination. The only remedy to present discrimination is future  
discrimination. As President Lyndon B. Johnson said in 1965,  
"You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by  
chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race  
and then say, 'You are free to compete with all the others,' and still  
justly believe that you have been completely fair." As U.S. Su-  
preme Court Justice Harry Blackmun wrote in 1978, "In order  
to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is  
no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we  
must treat them differently."

The racist champions of racist discrimination engineered to



maintain racial inequities before the 1960s are now the racist opponents of antiracist discrimination engineered to dismantle those racial inequities. The most threatening racist movement is not the alt right's unlikely drive for a White ethnostate but the regular American's drive for a "race-neutral" one. The construct of race neutrality actually feeds White nationalist victimhood by positing the notion that any policy protecting or advancing non-White Americans toward equity is "reverse discrimination."

That is how racist power can call affirmative action policies that succeed in reducing racial inequities "race conscious" and standardized tests that produce racial inequities "race neutral." That is how they can blame the behavior of entire racial groups for the inequities between different racial groups and still say their ideas are "not racist." But there is no such thing as a not-racist idea, only racist ideas and antiracist ideas.

So what is a racist idea? A racist idea is any idea that suggests one racial group is inferior or superior to another racial group in any way. Racist ideas argue that the inferiorities and superiorities of racial groups explain racial inequities in society. As Thomas Jefferson suspected a decade after declaring White American independence: "The blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."

An antiracist idea is any idea that suggests the racial groups are equals in all their apparent differences—that there is nothing right or wrong with any racial group. Antiracist ideas argue that racist policies are the cause of racial inequities.

Understanding the differences between racist policies and antiracist policies, between racist ideas and antiracist ideas, allows us to return to our fundamental definitions. Racism is a powerful collection of racist policies that lead to racial inequity and are substantiated by racist ideas. Antiracism is a powerful collection of antiracist policies that lead to racial equity and are substantiated by antiracist ideas.